Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Text

53
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
---------- 130677
R 021150Z JAN 74
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2069

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 0006

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, US
SUBJECT: SUGGESTIONS FOR STRENGTHENING DETENTE AND BUILDING PEACE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR TASCA

1. AS YOU SUGGESTED, I HAVE TAKEN THE LIBERTY OF TRANSMITTING HEREWITH A SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR THRUST OF MY ORAL REMARKS AT THE RECENT LONDON CONFERENCE OF AMBASSADORS. I HOPE YOU WILL ACCEPT THESE COMMENTS IN THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THEY ARE OFFERED, NAMELY, MY WISH TO SET FORTH FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION VARIOUS IDEAS AND IMPRESSIONS, SOME OF WHICH MAY B IMPRACTICAL, BUT ALL OF WHICH COULD SERVE USEFULLY TO SHED MORE LIGHT UPON SEVERAL OF THE MORE DIFFICULT AREAS AFFECTING THE CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS. IN MY HUMBLE OPINION, THEY ALL RELATE IN A SIGNIFICANT WAY TO OUR PRIORITY NATIONAL INTERESTS AND THEREFORE WARRANT SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS AND CONSIDERATION WHATEVER THE ULTIMATE CONCLUSIONS AS TO ACTION OR INACTION. YOU MAY WISH TO CIRCULATE THESE COMMENTS TO OTHER COM PARTICIPANTS FOR COMMENTS. I AM ALSO SENDING BY AIRGRAM TO YOU AN E*PANDED TEXT OF MY OBSERVATIONS SUMMARIZED BELOW WHICH I HOPE YOU MAY FI D TIME TO READ.

2. UNDERLYING CONSIDERATIONS

A. I BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD REVIEW THE WESTERN PERCEPTION OF THE CONCEPT OF THE MULTIPOLAR WORLD. ALTHOUGH MULTIPOLARITY IS A PRESENT-DAY REALITY, UNDUE EMPHASIS ON THE GROWING IMPORTANCE
SECRET

OF OTHER NATIONS HAS LED TO A PLAYING DOWN AND UNDER-ESTIMATION OF THE PREPONDERANT STRENGTH OF THE U.S., PARTICULARLY FROM THE ECONOMIC STANDPOINT, AS WELL AS ITS CONTINUING LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL. WHILE THE RELATIVE GAP BETWEEN OUR ECONOMIC STRENGTH

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

AND THAT OF THE OTHER MULTIPOLAR COMPONENTS HAS DIMINISHED, THE ABSOLUTE GAP, AS MEASURED BY A WIDE RANGE OF STATISTICAL INDICES, CONPNUES TO BE VITALLY SIGNIFICANT. IN TERMS OF POLITICAL IMPACT, MISINTERPRETATION OF THE MULTIPOLARITY CONCEPT CAN UNDERMINE OUR OWN EFFORTS TO DEVELOP DETENTE AND DETER COMMUNIST FORCES FROM MILITARY AGGRESSION AND POLITICAL SUBVERSION. THIS IS TO SAY THAT OUR VERY FORMULATION OF THE CONCEPT OF THE MULTIPOLAR WORLD CAN AFFECT BOTH THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY DETERRENCE AGAINST SOVIET PRESSURES AND PROBES WHICH IS OUR GOAL. I BELIEVE THE EFFECTIVE-NESS OF OUR EFFORTS TO DETER COMMUNIST FORCES FROM MILITARY AGGRESSION AND POLITICAL SUBVERSION, WHICH SEEK TO WIN THROUGH POLITICAL MEANS WHAT FORMERLY IT TOOK MILITARY CAMPAIGNS TO ACHIEVE, CAN BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY A POSTURE APPEARING TO POSIT WEAKNESS OR LESSENING STRENGTH, WHETHER RELATIVE OR ABSOLUTE ON THE PART OF THE U.S.

B. THE VERY STRENGTH OF THE U.S. AND ITS MATURATION INTO A POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY SET US APART FROM OTHER AFFLUENT COUNTRIES. SERIOUS STRAINS WITH OUR ALLIES COULD DEVELOP IF WE FAIL TO TAKE THIS INTO ACCOUNT. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE HAD A UNIQUE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION. IN EUROPE THE SMALL FARMER WITH HIS HIGH-COST FARMING REMAINS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE WITH DEEP ROOTS IN THE VERY VALUES AND CULTURES OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED. AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL COMPETITION IS REGARDED AS A REAL THREAT, AND AN ATTEMPT ON OUR PART TO FORCE COMPETITION IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES COULD BE DISASTROUS TO ATLANTIC COHESIVE-NESS AND, IN ADDITION, WOULD BE INEFFECTIVE. MOST OF THE WORLD IS STILL NOT PREPARED TO PERMIT THE MARKET TO DECIDE THE FUTURE OF ITS AGRICULTURAL AND FARM POPULATION.

C. WE SHOULD REVIEW OUR POSTURE TOWARD NON-DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL ENTITIES. WE NEED REFINEMENT IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF OUR CONCEPT OF "NON-INTERVENTION," PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF A SHRINKING WORLD RESULTING FROM THE EXPLOSION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY WHICH IN FACT IS MAKING A REALITY OF THE CONCEPT OF THE "GLOBAL VILLAGE." I BELIEVE THAT WE
HAVE TO SEEK A POSTURE MORE EXPLICITLY FOR DEMOCRACY AND FOR
SECRET

PEOPLE (WHILE ADHERING SCRUPULOUSLY TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION IN THE CONDUCT OF DOMESTIC AFFAIRS ON NATION STATES). THIS WOULD CERTAINLY GAIN US SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS. MOREOVER, THE YOUNGER GENERATIONS WILL INCREASINGLY DEMAND SUCH A STAND AND THEIR WEIGHT WILL BE OF GROWING IMPORTANCE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. AS A COROLLARY OF "NON-INTERVENTION" WE COULD BE FACED WITH AN APPALLING INCREASE IN VIOLENCE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD DIRECTED AGAINST THE U.S. AND ITS PRESENCE BROAD BASED ON THE MISAPPREHENSION THAT THE U.S. IS AGAINST PEACEFUL CHANGE AND FOR THE STATUS QUO. IN ANY EVENT, THE YOUNGER GENERATION IN EUROPE AND THROUGHOUT THE REST OF THE WORLD IS LIKELY TO BECOME INCREASINGLY CRITICAL WHICH IN THE END COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT ALLIANCES AND FRIENDSHIPS VITAL TO OUR SECURITY.

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

3. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

A. OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR NATO ALLIES HAVE SUFFERED FROM THE FACT THAT OUR RESPONSIBILITIES FOR SECURITY AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESS-ION AND SUBVERSION HAVE BEEN WORLD-WIDE AND INDIVISIBLE, WHERE-AS NATO'S EUROPEAN MEMBERS CONSIDER THE SCOPE OF THE ALLIANCE GEOGRAPHICALLY LIMITED TO THE AREA OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY AS DEFINED IN THE TREATY. IN FACT, OUR WORLD-WIDE SECURITY POSTURE HAS REFLECTED CORRESPONDED LONG-ESTABLISHED AND FAMILIAR SOVIET STRATEGY AND TACTICS. IDEOLOGICALLY THE SOVIET UNION REMAINS A HIGHLY AGGRESSIVE POWER CENTER AIMED AT UNDERMINING U.S. INFLUENCE AND STRENGTH. IT HAS ITS OWN VERSION OF THE FAMOUS RED CHINESE REVOLUTIONARY DICTUM THAT THE WORLD IS TO BE REGARDED AS A VAST COUNTRYSIDE AND THE UNITED STATES ITS URBAN CENTER. THE SOVIETS HAVE SOUGHT TO WIN THROUGH POLITICAL MEANS, INCLUDING EVERY FORM OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY, GAINS WHICH COULD FORMERLY ONLY BE REALIZED BY THE DIRECT APPLICATION OF MILITARY POWER.

SECRET

PAGE 01 ATHENS 00006 02 OF 02 021335Z

53
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
---------- 130971
R 021150Z JAN 74
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2070

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 0006

EXDIS

B. FOR EXAMPLE, DOMESTICALLY, THE SEVERE IMPACT OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM UPON OUR SOCIETY MIGHT HAVE BEEN MITIGATED, OR THE EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF OUR INVOLVEMENT BEEN LESS DESTRUCTIVE TO OUR NATIONAL FIBER, HAD OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES BEEN MORE DIRECTLY INVOLVED. IN THE IMMEDIATE TERM, THE EXCLUSION OF THE SOUTHERN HALF OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE PERSIAN GULF AREA FROM NATO PLANNING BECAUSE OF ITS GEOGRAPHICAL EXCLUSION FROM T*E NATO AREA MAY TURN OUT TO HAVE BEEN A CATASTROPHIC GAP IN OUR STRATEGIC THINKING, GIVEN THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF OIL TO THE VERY SURVIVAL OF THE ECONOMIES OF NATO MEMBERS. WE MUST MAKE A GREATER EFFORT TO RECONCILE OUR WORLD-WIDE SECURITY RESPONSIBILITIES WITH THESE RESTRICTIVE VIEWS OF OUR REGIONAL SECURITY PARTNERS. THERE IS URGENT NEED FOR CONCULTATION AND AGREEMENT UPON WHAT THE NATURE OF OUR SECURITY IS ALL ABOUT. I AM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED WITH THE POLITICAL TACTICS AND DYNAMISM EMPLOYED BY THE SOVIETS SINCE WORLD WAR II TO ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVES.

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

C. WE HAVE NOT FOCUSED SQUARELY ON THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS TO THE ALLIANCE'S VIABILITY. OUR FINANCIAL AND TRADE DIFFICULTIES WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE WEAKENED OUR POLITICAL LEVERAGE, SERIOUSLY SHAKEN THE COHESIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE, STRENGTHENED SOVIET INFLUENCE THROUGH LOCAL COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES, AND PROBABLY SLOWED DOWN THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF A WILL TOWARD GREATER INDEPENDENCE FROM THE MOSCOW CENTER ON THE PART OF MARXISTS-LENINISTS, NEO-MARXISTS, AND THE PRAGMATISTS IN THE SOVIET-DOMINATED AREAS. THE RECENT ECONOMIC CRISES AND DISARRAY HAVE BEEN SUSCEPTIBLE TO PORTRAYAL AS A DECISIVE "CRISIS OF CAPITALISM," ERRONEOUS AS THIS CONCEPT
SECRET

MAY APPEAR TO US. OUR DETERRENT POSTURE HAS BEEN CONSEQUENTLY WEAKENED.

D. THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY NATIONS (AND THE MORE AFFLUENT SOCIETIES IN GENERAL) MUST HAVE A DIFFERENT FOCUS FROM THOSE BETWEEN THE AFFLUENT AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, OR AMONG THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THEMSELVES. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES REQUIRE MORE COMPLEX MECHANISMS FOR THE CONDUCT OF DAY-TO-DAY ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS, WITH STEADY PROGRESS TOWARDS EFFECTIVE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS. PROBLEMS OF COORDINATED AND COOPERATIVE ANTI-INFLATION MEASURES, EXCHANGE RATES, INTEREST RATES, CAPITAL MOVEMENTS, ETC. REQUIRE MOST INTIMATE DAY-TO DAY COOPERATION WHICH THE IMF, HOWEVER REORGANIZED, WILL BE UNABLE TO COPE WITH.

4. STEPS FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

A. THE QUESTION OF OUR OWN ORGANIZATION TO DEAL WITH THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS IN THE 70'S IS RELEVANT IN THIS CONNECTION. I BELIEVE THE MANNER IN WHICH BUREAUCRACY IS CONCEIVED AND ORGANIZED HAS AN INFLUENCE ON HOW EFFECTIVELY WE DELINEATE AND DEAL WITH ISSUES AFFECTING OUR NATIONAL INTEREST. FOR EXAMPLE, THE FACT THAT ONE OF THE MOST STRATEGIC AREAS IN THE WORLD, THE MEDITERRANEAN, IS DIVIDED AMONG THREE BUREAUS WITH DIFFERING POINTS OF PRIMARY FOCUS CAN LEAD TO FAILURE IN IDENTIFYING PROPERLY, UNDERSTANDING AND DEALING WITH MATTERS OF HIGH PRIORITY NATIONAL INTEREST, E.G., OIL, ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, U.S.-SOVIET CONFRONTATION, PARTICULARLY AS THEY RELATE TO NATO AND THE VERY EXISTENCE OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. MOREOVER, I QUESTION WHETHER THE SIMPLE ORGANIZATION ON THE BASIS OF THE NATION STATE DOES NOT DISTORT ARBITRARILY OUR OVERRIDING NATIONAL INTERESTS. I SUGGEST THE NEED FOR A THOROUGH REEXAMINATION OF ORGANIZATION IN RELATION TO NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE BROAD PERSPECTIVE OF THE MULTIPOLAR WORLD.

B. AT THIS CRUCIAL JUNCTURE THE U.S. MUST CONTINUE AND HEIGHTEN ITS EFFORT TO MINIMIZE THE POTENTIAL CONFLICT ARISING FROM ITS DUAL ROLE IN THE MULTINATIONAL NATO COMMUNITY AND AS LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD. OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR DECISIVE ACTION IN BOTH

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

CONTEXTS IMPOSES AN OBLIGATION TO SEEK FIRST OF ALL MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE GOALS WITH OUR ALLIES. THE CHALLENGE WILL TAX OUR
SECRET

DIPLOMATIC ABILITIES TO THE UTMOST, BUT FAILURE COULD CARRY GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE WESTERN COMMUNITY AND INVITE SOVIET INITIATIVES EXPLOITING DIVISIONS WITHIN OUR OWN ALLIANCE TO THE DETRIMENT OF EFFORTS TO DEVELOP DENTENTE AND ENCOURAGE PEACEFUL CHANGE.

C. WE NEED A MORE SOPHISTICATED APPROACH TO OUR INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL AND TRADE PROBLEMS. NEW FORMS OF FINANCIAL COOPERATION, SUPPLEMENTARY AND ALTERNATIVE TO THE IMF, CAN AND SHOULD BE WORKED OUT AND SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. OUR TRADE POLICY MUST AIM AT IRONING OUT PROBLEMS BY AGREEMENT RATHER THAN BY DIVISIVE CONFRONTATION. EUROPE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD WILL NEED SOME TIME AND UNDER-STANDING WHILE THEY TRY TO ADJUST TO THE REALITIES OF THE U.S. AGRARIAN REVOLUTION.

D. WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE OUR OWN AND OUR ALLIES' ECONOMIC STRENGTH. EFFORTS TO SEEK LARGER CONTRIBUTIONS FROM OUR ALLIES, WHEN DEFENDED PRIMARILY ON GROUNDS OF A DECLINE IN RELATIVE U.S. STRENGTH OR INCAPACITY TO LEAD, WEAKEN OUR DEFENSE POSTURE AND COULD INVITE COMMUNIST ADVENTURISM. IF WE DEAL SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AND THE PROBLEMS PRESENTED BY THE INDIVISIBILITY OF WORLD SECURITY, I SUGGEST WE WILL FIND THE ALLIANCE WORKING MUCH MORE SMOOTHLY AND THE GROWING UNITY OF EUROPE WILL NOT ONLY BE ENCOURAGED BUT WILL DEVELOP WITHIN A FRAMWORK OF EXPANDED AND INTIMATE DIALOGUE AT BOTH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL LEVELS OF THE ALLIANCE.
TASCA

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 27 JUL 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, DETENTION, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 JAN 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974ATHENS00006
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P750001-1104
From: ATHENS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740175/abbrzbyb.tel
Line Count: 253
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 MAY 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <18 DEC 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SUGGESTIONS FOR STRENGTHENING DETENTE AND BUILDING PEACE
TAGS: PFOR, US, NATO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005